436 no native money and used the Japanese cash, and that the Japanese
175 did not permit a native coinage.[2]

436 Up to the war, only bills of low denominations circulated in the villages. In Hinatogawa, an old lady, now about 73, said that before the war she had never seen a ¥100 note, which at that time was worth slightly over US$25. But since the 19th century, new conditions have pried the farmer loose from barter and self-sufficiency.
434 There is little to warrant a belief that rural villages are self-
511 sufficient. The most elementary obligations, such as sending one's children to school, require cash. An average rural family of five may require from ¥40-60,000 a year.

[574] Cash outlays include: (1) Entertainment, including the purchase of sake. Entertainment is an integral part of the culture and cannot be dismissed as a luxury. (2) Clothing. (3) Fertilizer. (4) Tobacco. [388] (5) Soap. No soap is made in the home. American soap flakes are highly prized, but generally are not purchased because of the cost. (6) Hair cutting. (7) Food and food supplements, such as noodles [262] and vermicelli types of paste, cooking oils, salt, soy sauce, meat, fish, seaweed (kombu), rice, if not grown and purchases from the import store. (8) Fuel, charcoal, charcoal sticks. (9) Transportation for business or pleasure. (10) Newspapers. Many subscriptions are cancelled when the price goes up. [204] (11) Tools and tool repairs, but maintenance is small after the original investment. (12) School books and [872] contributions to schools for purchasing special items. (13) Medicines and mid-wives' fees. (14) Occasional purchases of lumber, stone, or [651] tile. (15) Taxes.

434 In the farming areas, sugar and pigs are the only significant sources of cash income. Sweet potatoes, rice, eggs, and soy beans may be sold, but the amounts are either too small or the selling price too low to provide substantial amounts of cash. Occasionally younger sons may have jobs which bring in money, and a farmer or his sons may have a horse cart for hire.

In Hinatogawa, cash outlays, in addition to the items already mentioned, are required for nets, gasoline, and oil. Cash comes from sales of fish, pigs, and stone. The lack of rice, an insufficient [511] sweet potato crop for year round needs, imports of firewood from the north and the occasional need to purchase grasses for thatch make this community more dependent on cash than the agricultural community.

434 511 184 The economic problem of the fisherman is also different from that of the farmer. Both the farmer and the fisherman must pay cash for medicines, fertilizer, alcoholic drinks, clothing, various special but traditional articles of the diet, taxes, tools, and supplies. The farmer, however, can produce much of his food. He can exist on sweet potatoes, bean curd, and bean paste soup, and if need be may spend little money on food. The fisherman cannot exist on fish alone. Fishermen without fields must depend on cash earnings to buy the

2 Hawks, Perry's expediti ; to Japan, Vol. I, 160, 220-21. Chamberlain, The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, Geo. journal 5 (1895), 313.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Obtaining News of a Larger World

203

While it is an error to think of villages as isolated social and economic units, it would be a mistake also to fail to mention the existing obstacles to communication and the dissemination of news.

207

There are virtually no radio sets in any of these villages, except in the schools and sometimes in a village office. Home radio sets invariably need repairs. In Hanashiro, which has no electricity, there were 3 radios, two of which did not work. There were 4 in Hinatogawa, with one at least not working, and six in Matsuda, three of which were in the primary school, one in the village office. In these villages there is electricity from about 6:30 to 10:30 in the winter and from 7 to 11 PM in the summer. The radio is not an important direct medium for obtaining news. If they can, villagers tune in Japanese stations for news, music, and entertainment. There is a need for simple and cheap means of reaching rural areas by radio.

204

Newspapers are more important media. But in late 1951 and early 1952, there were 5 newspaper subscribers in Hanashiro, one going to the village office where it could be read by all, 14 in Hinatogawa, and about 20 in Matsuda, reduced from a previous 40 by an increase in the subscription rate. The barbershop in Matsuda had a newspaper. Schools and the township and village offices subscribe. It is difficult to estimate actual circulation. My own observation is that newspaper reading under these conditions is casual and intermittent, that newspapers are read consistently only by the village officials, school teachers, and the regular subscribers. News from Naha, the other Ryukyu islands, and from international sources is disseminated largely by word of mouth. Local readers make their reading a subject of conversation. There is no lack of interest in broader questions and in international events. The negotiations leading up to the Japanese peace treaty were followed with great interest by many villagers in Matsuda. [203]

Japanese magazines, particularly movie magazines, are popular despite their high cost. They are widely read not only by the young, but by older men and women, including school teachers.

206

Telephones are not a part of home life. There were two privately installed field telephones in Hinatogawa, but no private telephones in the other villages. The village office, the post office are equipped with phones.

484 [494]

The possibilities of obtaining more direct knowledge of other parts of Okinawa island have increased since the war. One can travel by public transportation from the southern part of the island to the extreme north in a reasonable time and not too uncomfortably. Provincial attitudes still remain. Persons in the southern villages

855 861 Two facts that have been introduced into this discussion should be restated and made more explicit. The first is that Okinawan child-training methods include the use of both verbal appeals and physical punishment. As a result of observations made during and shortly after the battle in 1945, Dr. J. C. Maloney reported[1] that Okinawans were very permissive with their children and did not use corporal punishment. It will be seen from the data just presented that while Okinawans are more permissive in many situations than Americans would be, they do in fact use severe physical punishment on occasion.

152 181 171 861 The second fact has to do with the contrast of "shame" versus "guilt" that has been presented by several writers on the character of the Japanese. Both Gorer and Benedict have asserted that the Japanese conform because they fear the ridicule of others whereas Westerners conform because they fear their own consciences; Japanese culture is a "shame culture" while ours is a "guilt culture".[2] Okinawan culture also seems to be primarily a shame culture. Okinawans clearly fear ridicule greatly, and this fear seems traceable to their early training. But there are also elements in Okinawan child training that would tend to produce something of the Western sort of fear that one may suffer for his wrong-doing regardless of whether he is found out or not. These are to be seen in the phrases "retribution will strike" (Okinawan bachi nu ataaing, Japanese 'bachi ga ataru') and "the gods saw you". Shame and guilt are doubtless not mutually exclusive. Both sanctions exist in Okinawan culture, shame being much the stronger.

857 524 [209] [177] Play Boys play with kites and tops. Girls play hop-scotch. Both, if they can afford it, get one or more of the numerous Japanese children's magazines that are filled with stories, comics, and a variety of make-it-yourself paper toys.

857 Boys catch insects and birds and fasten strings to them in order to jerk them back as they try to fly away, or in order simply to drag them around. They do so quite unconscious of any cruelty in the act. Adults appear to regard living things as proper playthings.

[546] There may be less age-grading among smaller children than among older people or among children in present-day American society. Several boys of different ages were observed playing together on many occasions, mainly, it seemed, because they were related and lived in adjacent houses. The girls who occasionally joined them were also of the same group of related families.

882 178 [881] [877] 877 882 Youth Traditionally, entering one's thirteenth year, for a girl, and fifteenth, for a boy, marks a change in status from that of child to that of youth (niisee, in J. 'seinen', literally "green years"). There was also a later ceremony at which the young man's hair was done in a knot; and the tattooing undergone by a young woman may have been part of a puberty rite. But at present, finishing one's schooling marks the greatest change in the life of a young person. At this time the treatment he receives and the behavior expected of him change markedly. As long as he is in school he is

1 Maloney, 1945, p. 394.

2 Gorer, 1943; Benedict, 1946, p. 223.

178 The new roads and buses have done much to break down the isolation
36 of the village; the physical barriers separating village from town have greatly diminished. This has enabled the rural dweller to enter the labor markets of the urban areas and to expand greatly the markets for his products.

178 Communications Equally as impressive as the changes in transpor-
20 tation have been those in communications. Today newspapers, radios, tele-
178 phones, and movies are making their influences felt in the country. Prior
546 to the war there were five motion-picture theaters on Okinawa; today there
[177] are fifty-seven, and approximately one-third of the films shown are of Western origin. Though the theaters are concentrated in the towns and cities, the young people of neighboring farm villages often make regular use of them. Some of the young people in Kanegusuku go to the theaters in Itoman several times a week.

178 Everyone asserts that newspapers are becoming more common in the
204 rural areas. In the isolated village of Oku at the northern end of Okinawa the mayor informed us that nearly 90% of the houses subscribe regularly to a newspaper.

178 In Kanegusuku seventy of its 103 houses obtained radios this year
207 under the group listening system. A number of those who were unable to
203 secure radios (due to a lack of equipment) are hoping to do so in the near future. In some villages the group listening system has been utilized as a public address system for official announcements. This has greatly simplified the problem of conveying information or orders to the villagers. Pitts made use of this system on Henza Shima to explain his purpose in studying there. In this same village the regular Shuri broadcasts are sometimes replaced with Okinawan music played on a phonograph owned by the village. On Izena Shima the system is used to announce the arrivals and departures of the two ferryboats which serve the island.

The radio has been eagerly received in all communities which the author visited and has been instrumental in bringing the villagers into contact with the outside world.

177 Agriculture and the Rural Economy Major changes in Okinawan agricul-
178 ture have been slight. Improvements have been made in yields as the result
241 of scientific research conducted by the Japanese, a few new minor crops have been introduced, modern fertilizers have been made available, and the system of land tenure was radically altered by the Japanese; but the basic agricultural methods have remained the same. The major crops have not changed though their ratios have fluctuated, and most importantly, farm holdings remain as scattered and heavily fragmented as ever. There is at present no trend or even a suggestion of a trend toward consolidation of holdings nor is there any indication of a lessening of land pressure. So long as the farms remain small, fragmented, and widely scattered, there will be no possibility of using machinery or scientific methods. The present system of intensive gardening does produce a high yield per acre, but it also demands a large labor supply.